WAR & PEACE New York Edition

Walkout in Korea, threats on German rearming, hide U.S. alarm on atom race

By Tabitha Petran

FOUR days after the UN General Assembly voted to recess indefinitely without discussing Korea, U.S. (UN) envoy Arthur Dean walked out of the Panmunjom talks. The U.S. proposed these talks in September to head off Assembly review of the two-sided (as against the widely-favored round-table) approach to the Korean political conference. Dean had tried to provoke the other side to break off the talks, by an all-out attack on the U.S.S.R. as a "warlike, powerful and aggressive" nation which the U.S. would never accept as a neutral at the conference. (Armistice Agreement, Par. 37, defines a neutral as one whose combat forces did not participate in the Korean War.)

In stating that unrepatriated POW's would be "released" Jan. 22 and Indian custodial forces sent home, and threatening to line up Allied troops on the neutral zone border to handle this matter, Dean offered a direct slap at UN, above all at India.

Seibel in Richmond Times-Dispatch

"How much is that dove in the window?"

KOREA CRISIS LOOMING: India's Krishna Menon, pleading in the Assembly's closing days that it be reconvened Feb. 9, pointed out:

- The 90-day explanation period ends Dec. 23 although there have not been 90 days of explanations. He referred to reports from the Indian custodial troops about the threats and force used in the POW camps by Chiang Kai-shek and Rhee leaders to prevent POW's from any real right to hear explanations.
- The armistice provides for release of POW's Jan. 22 if the political conference has not by then reached agreement; but if there were no conference, the Assembly must meet to decide on their disposal.
- Syngman Rhee has threatened to renew the war after Jan. 27.

But India, already victim of the squeeze play of the U.S.-Pakistan military aid-bases talk, knuckled under after Dean's threat, announced it would release the POW's Jan. 22 unless both sides agreed it should not. The other side has charged that the U.S. plans to turn the POW's over to Chiang and Rhee. In any case, if the POW's are released, an essential part of the armistice will have been violated. Washington hopes to block a political conference and settlement indefinitely.

As to Rhee's threats, the U.S. could control him if it would; it may have to whether it wants to or not. Reports, leaking through a double censorship, of martial law imposed in S. Korean districts, arrests of guerrillas, government and party purges, suggest a coming S. Korean political crisis.

DIFFERENCES ON CHINA: Washington's Korean provocation is also designed to torpedo the talks with Moscow to which it was forced to agree. Moscow has stated it will at these talks demand China be invited to five-power talks on world issues. At Bermuda, Britain and France

". . . declined to give a solid guarantee to limit the anticipated Big Four foreign ministers' conference [to Germany and Austria] . . . [They] agreed to try but wouldn't promise to do so . . ." (Wall St. Journal, 12/8).

The British and French governments cannot give such a promise. In France every class wants an end to the Indo-China war and seeks talks with China as a means to that end. Liberation leader Ho Chi Minh's three recent offers to negotiate for peace are building up more pressure, and have strengthened Vietnam's anti-Communist nationalists who want to negotiate with Ho. In Britain the demand for normalization of China relations extends well into right-wing circles. But using the break-off of the Korean talks as evidence that "you can't do business" with China or the U.S.S.R., Washington hopes to gain time for its bankrupt policy by again postponing the inevitable.

THE GERMAN THREAT: Washington must also cause the four-power talks to fail since it is determined to rearm W. Germany come what may. This is clear in its insistence that German rearmament is not even an issue in the talks. Secy. Dulles made it clearer by warning France, at the Paris NATO meeting, to

(Continued on Page 6)

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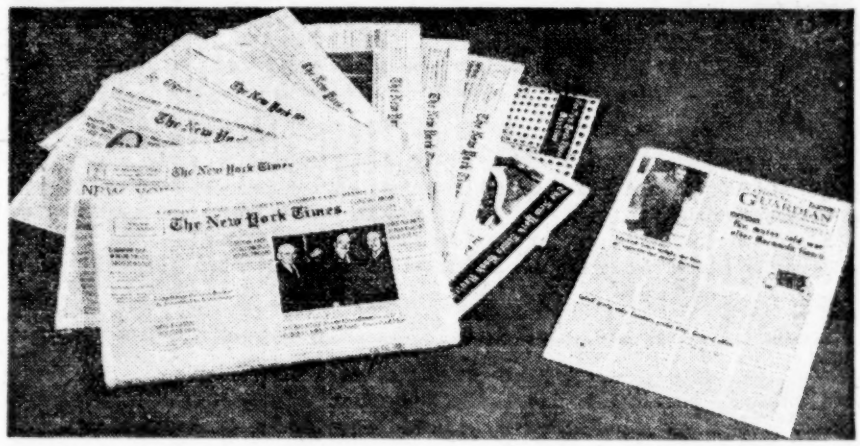

396 FOREST ACRES vs. A FEW STOUT BIRCHES

For a parable of the press, see Report to Readers, p. 2

GOVT. WANTS HIM BACK ON ELLIS ISLAND

Judges defend the Fifth in Belfrage bail fight

By James Aronson

ON MAY 15, 1952, one day after he had testified before the McCarthy Committee, GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage was arrested under the McCarran-Walter Act and sent to Ellis Island pending deportation proceedings. Atty. Gen. Brownell refused bail.

Belfrage's attorneys, Blanch Freedman and Nathan Dambroff, went into Federal District Court to reverse Brownell's order. In a written answer submitted to Judge Edward Weinfeld, Belfrage denied the government's allegations: that he is a Communist; that he made many trips to the U.S.S.R. (he was there once, in 1936, on vacation); that he has been actively engaged in espionage work; that he was and still is active in the "world communist movement."

The government asserted Belfrage's invoking of the Fifth Amendment before the McCarthy committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee (on May 5) was a sinister act which proved he was a serious menace to the security of the nation.

HARD TO FIGURE: On June 10, after Belfrage had been held 26 days, Judge Weinfeld ordered his release in $5,000 bail. In his opinion, which may have set an important precedent, he wrote:

"If for the long period of seven years following the FBI and Grand Jury inquiries [in which Belfrage testified freely] immigration and other governmental officials did not consider Belfrage's presence and activities inimical to the nation's welfare and a threat to its security, it is difficult to understand how, overnight, because of his assertion of a constitutional privilege, he has become such a menace to the nation's safety that it is now necessary to jail him without bail pending the determination of the charges, as to which the government has the burden of proof."

On June 15, the government petitioned Judge Charles E. Clark of the Federal Court of Appeals to vacate Judge Weinfeld's order. Judge Clark not only refused, but indicated respect for Judge Weinfeld's "careful appraisal." The government appealed the District Court order. It sought to get Belfrage back on Ellis Island. But it made no move for a deportation hearing.

QUESTION OF REVIEW: Last week, exactly six months after Belfrage's arrest, argument was heard before the Court of Appeals in New York. Sitting were Judges Clark, Jerome N. Frank and Carroll Hincks. For the government Asst. U.S. Atty. Harold J. Raby argued that, under Sec. 242a of the McCarran-Walter Act, the courts had no power to review the Attorney General's denial of bail, except when there was a question of "reasonable dispatch." Judge Frank asked:

"Do you mean to say that even if there were flagrant abuse, if you

(Continued on Page 7)

PANMUNJOM: THERE WAS PATIENCE AMIDST THE WALKOUTS, PROVOCATIONS AND BLUSTER

Gen. Thimayya (5th from l., facing front) Neutral Nations Commission chairman, explains a delay to the press

McCarthy for President?
WHAT MAKES JOE RUN?
See Page 4

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THE MAIL BAG

Cline's cozy cache

MONTROSE, COLO.

Last summer I raised a pumpkin weighing 35 pounds. Gee, Whittaker, thinks I, whatta cache! Anyone got any secret documents they want to hide?

This $1 is all I can spare at present, but when I sell my pumpkins (of course reserving the one for documents) I'll send a little extra. **Pearl Cline**

Gouzenko and White

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Winchell's Nov. 29 broadcast may have unwittingly furnished a clue to the basis for the Harry Dexter White charges.

Winchell revealed (for the first time, according to him) that Igor Gouzenko, the Canadian Budenz, wrote to the U. S. Treasury Dept. for "an income tax deal" in connection with the publication of his book in which he revealed "all." Winchell pointed out that such a deal had previously been made with Dwight D. Eisenhower in connection with **Crusade in Europe** and that subsequently similar deals were made with the author of **Forever Amber** and Harry S. Truman.

In the case of Gouzenko, however, the application was summarily denied and the letter from the Treasury Dept. was signed "Harry Dexter White." Could it be that this was the basis for the Canadian information concerning White's alleged treachery? **Joseph Spencer**

Out on a Limb

WOODWARD, IOWA

The South Korean Ambassador, Ben C. Limb, said recently and publicly that South Korea began the war. In answer to a question Limb said: "The main and only purpose of starting this war and coming in to fight with us is to unify the country, that's the only objective." . . . "and that is why we started this war and if we are going to finish this war, we must fulfill that objective." There is no suggestion of repelling invasion.

The Ambassador let another ugly cat out of the bag.

"President Rhee," said Limb, "will reopen the war if Korea is not unified by January 25."

Someone asked: "How does he intend to keep this threat?'

Limb replied: "That is not a threat, it is a statement of fact."

Question: "What agreement do you have with the various governments that they would say we will join you in battle?"

Limb replied: "We have their statement, we have on black and white . . . they will not hesitate to join us in battle."

Question: "Do you think that as the South Koreans attack the North Koreans that we will go to war with you, that we are committed to join with you in a war?"

Answer: "That is the agreement."

Statements and answers telecast ever WABC-TV New York outlet, Oct. 19, on the program called Junior Press Conference.

Creston Wolfe

How crazy can you get dept.

OTTAWA, (CP)—John Blackmore, Social Credit member of Parliament for Lethbridge, said Monday night that most United States and Canadian newspapers are under the control of Communist influences. . . . He said not all papers, however, are under Communist domination. He excepted the Chicago Tribune and added there might be others.
—Regina (Sask.) **Leader-Post**, Dec. 9.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. The above sent by "Anon."

The air was cleaner

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A British editor of the **Chronicle**, H. W. Massingham, in an address several years ago, quoted Olive Schreiner that "a daily paper not based on an attempt to disseminate truth is a cup of poison sent round every morning to debilitate the people."

Thanks to the remarkable solidarity and courage displayed by the striking photo-engravers in New York and their supporting fellow unionists against the lords of six newspapers, a most welcome relief from their incessant bombardment of sensationailsm came about for 11 days. One sincerely hopes it provides an invigorating mental and emotional relaxation to a large majority of New Yorkers.

A. Garcia Diaz

Shakespeare's type

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Our apologies to Petronius for the liberties taken with the translation of this line, which is a part of Rockwell Kent's striking frontispiece in our **Friendship Book—We Pledge Peace.** Like Shakespeare, we have "little Latin and less Greek."

Latin scholars among GUARDIAN's readers—and the editors—will be relieved to know that a new printing is out in response to popular demand, and that they can now get a copy with a correct, although still free translation of Petronius' warning that "he who takes a sword, will perish by the sword."

Editors of Friendship Book Room 310, 101 Post St.

Borough vs. Cole

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The question is not, as it has been posed, coalition or no coalition—but whether a given coalition will strengthen or weaken the workers in their fight against war and fascism and for a better life. More and better coalitions with people of all political colorations for an organized fight against jim crow, for peace and for better housing, etc., are indeed a crying need, with which neither Friend Borough nor Friend Cole, I take it, will argue. We can work usefully in a tenants' council with people who have swallowed the cold-war propaganda without compromising our own peace principles. (Indeed just such "collaboration" offers the most precious opportunities for planting the seeds of truth.)

An electoral coalition presents a different problem. To fight side by side, with say an Emanuel Celler, for the repeal of Taft-Hartley is one thing, but to help elect him to Congress on the strength of his promised T-H opposition is something else again. Once we do that we are stuck with his cold-war, red-baiting votes and actions, and on balance the workers' cause has suffered a setback. We cannot advance the cause of peace by helping to elect war-mongers, even when they oppose McCarthy's tactics while supporting his ends. **Elwood Griest**

The Rosenbergs' brother

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Thank you, Emanuel Bloch, for affirming that there are still men who live on their feet, to whom indifference is impossible and who can be moved by the needs of others than themselves. Your visit to L. A. was a beacon light in these bleak times, an inspiration to discard the blinders that say that our lives are to be lived each individually with not only unconcern for others, but no conscience about trampling out others' rights and livelihood.

Therefore, it was as if all the hopeful unblemished ideals of our youth were confirmed, that had been so shattered in the last few years. Yes, man can be wonderful! He can extend himself for something he believes in, he can take time out of his life to help others, he can be deeply moved and also act on another's plight. **Pearl Cross**

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Listen, son—don't argue. Get Red Robin Hood dead or alive."

A life for a truth

BLAWNOX, PA.

Addressing the Pittsburgh post of the Amer. Ordnance Assn. Dec. 7, the Strategic Air Command's Gen. Curtis Le May urged that "the major portion of our resources" be devoted "to offensive capabilities. . . . The combination of the long-range bomber and new air weapons can give us the most powerful force for peace the world has ever seen." He admitted the "free" nations "cannot hope to compete successfully . . .with the Communist manpower resources," but saw a "reasonable probability of success" with the long-range bomber and nuclear weapons with which we could "destroy the industrial facilities of the Soviet Union."

The general was, of course, shooting for a bigger share of the billions which he knows the Administration will recommend to the incoming Congress for cold and hot war. However, his audience of top U. S. Steel, Westinghouse and other war-industry men must have sat straight up in their seats when in another connection he slipped out: "When you take the profits out of war, you have taken a long step for enduring peace."

For that same explanation of the arms drive, particularly as exemplified in the Korean War, I am serving a 20-year sentence in the Allegheny Co. workhouse, on conclusion of which I face a five-year term under the Smith Act in the federal penitentiary. Steve Nelson, out on bail, faces the same 25-year term for the same "crime." For myself—just having passed my 68th birthday—this is a death sentence.

I am using one of my precious five letters a month to bring Le May's speech to your attention. It was buried in the back pages of the Scripps Howard **Press.** If his war-profits admission could be broadcast to every American family, surely it would help swell our people's determination to stop the fascist threat embodied in McCarthyism and its twin McCarranism. **James H. Dolsen**

Los Angeles Ball

The report on the magnificent Los Angeles Guardian Ball arrived too late for publication in this issue. There will be a full story in next week's GUARDIAN by John T. McManus, who was there.

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REPORT TO READERS

Eight-tenths of an oz. of truth vs. 5lbs. 5oz. of glop

"Each copy of today's 436-page paper weighs about five pounds five ounces. This is a record."—N. Y. Times, Dec. 11.

MOST GUARDIAN readers will have read about, but not experienced, the 11-day newspaper holiday in New York due to the photo-engravers' strike.

Of the "compromise" settlement of the strike which had roused such fine solidarity from the press unions' rank and file (the "compromise" was an acceptance of approximately what the publishers offered at the start), the less said the better. There are just a couple of things we'd like to note as another fiasco for misled American labor passes into history.

THE picture on p. 1 shows on one side the **N. Y. Times** as it appeared the first Sunday after the settlement, and on the other the same week-end's edition of the GUARDIAN. The **Times** pointed with pride to the fact that, having made its employes' unions look very sick, it was putting out an edition comprising 45 tons of ink and 3,297 tons of newsprint—a tonnage requiring 110 railroad cars to bring it in from the "396 acres of woodland" decimated for the purpose.

We pause in respect to the memory of those innocent trees cut down, those 396 wooded acres scarred for a generation, to make possible this "record" mess of verbal confusion, this useless acreage of luxury advertising. We weep to think of all the human skills which went into felling and transporting the trees and transmuting them into the 5 lb. 5 oz. goulasch of last Sunday's or any Sunday's **Times.** We dry our tears as best we can on an old copy of Veblen's **Theory of Conspicuous Consumption.**

AS "normalcy" returns, we think back with nostalgia to those 11 wonderful days in which New Yorkers began to undergo a genuine, positive "brain-washing" process. They still, of course, had their quickie confusion-makers, the radio and TV news bulletins; but the lack of printed hashish—the kind that can be shot into the brain anywhere at will—had a noticeable effect. The lost expression at first worn by subway-riders gave way, as day followed newspaperless day, to something more nearly approaching calm than had been seen in many a year. And an extraordinary thing happened: people once again began reading books. If it went on much longer, one felt, *homo Newyorkensis* might get back to the old habit of thinking for himself.

IT was too good to last. On Wednesday and ensuing days the toil-worn New Yorkers, privileged to ride home in the Transport Authority's malodorous, roaring sardine cans for 15c, stood in serried ranks with eyes popping over familiar headlines: DOPE PUSHER SLAIN IN BAR; GIRL, 11, FOUND STRANGLED IN YARD; CITY'S RED QUIZ TO HIT 100,000. And so the dream faded of good folk permitted to be sane.

Except for just one thing: during the strike the GUARDIAN —unaffected like other publications that farm out their engraving—doubled its newsstand sales. The strike had been the instrument to introduce several thousand new readers to the sort of newspaper which, we believe, all Americans will one day read—with no popping of eyes, but with a pleasantly stimulating sensation in the cerebellum.

Meanwhile we figure that—based on the **Times** statistics—it takes around two or three stout trees to put out a GUARDIAN. We are willing to be quoted as saying that even when our readership surpasses the **Times'**—as it some day will—we won't destroy woodlands by the hundreds of acres to enable a dozen concerns producing identical wares to set up a babel of claims of superiority. But right now we are definitely interested in getting a couple more trees into the act.

WILL you do your bit to bring this about during this holiday season? To help you do it, we've never made a better offer than our present holiday special (see coupon, p. 3) for our 8/10 of an ounce of truth. Your last-minute Christmas gift problem is hereby easily solved. Just list the names on the coupon to receive the GUARDIAN at the introductory rate of $1 for six months (26 issues—less than 4c a copy)—and your holiday headaches are over.

The **Times** is proud of its record in terms of poundage; we with our 8/10 of an ounce are far more proud of our record in terms of truth. It's easy for Gen. Ochs and Mr. Sulzberger to tear down trees. It takes people of the calibre of GUARDIAN readers to grow them. **—THE EDITORS**

ISSUES BEFORE THE NEW CONGRESS: III — FARM POLICY

Benson hides plan for rural spoils system

By Lawrence Emery

FOR A TIME this year the full glare of political publicity was turned on Agriculture Secy. Benson and what he was doing to the family-sized farm. Although Benson squirmed, others in government were grateful; at one point a State Dept. spokesman expressed relief that attention was diverted from his department for a change. But then came the great Brownell-Eisenhower-Jenner-McCarthy-Velde spy scares to draw the spotlights and Benson's doings were left in the dark.

Benson was happy; as the current **Facts for Farmers** points out, it is essential to him to keep as secret as possible the farm program he will propose to Congress to prevent full farm mobilization against it. With the start of the new session of Congress but days away, Benson has not yet revealed any part of the recommendations he will make. But **Facts for Farmers** predicts they will follow these main outlines:

Minneapolis Tribune

Secretary of Agriculture

1. Control of funds and administration of federal farm programs on local and state levels in such a way as to make possible a gigantic spoils system and creation of a corrupt, powerful rural political machine.

2. Destruction of relatively high price supports by making them "flexible"—with the exception of cotton and tobacco in return for political support from influential Dixiecrat planters.

3. Criticism of "overproduction" as the major farm problem, to be solved by eliminating at least 2,000,000 small-scale farmers.

4. Curtailment or elimination of the democratically-controlled federal farm aids benefitting the family-sized farm.

In essence, this is the program worked out some 12 years ago by a small group of top members of the Big Business-minded Farm Bureau Federation.

45c ON THE DOLLAR: What is happening to farmers under the Eisenhower-Benson regime, and what farmers really need, was put in capsule form at a recent convention of the Farmers Union of the N. Y. Milk Shed:

> "The cost of living and food costs have gone up steadily. The returns to farmers have gone down just as steadily until now farm income is more than 10% below last year and the farm share of the consumers' dollar is down to 45c and still dropping. The farm price support laws have been administered in such a manner as to bring about the exact opposite of their intent. The soil conservation program has been ruined and the rural electrification program is being wrecked. . . . We call for an immediate reversal of these policies, and for the appointment of men to office who will administer the laws of the land in the interests of the farmers and the people. We call for equality of agriculture with industry and commerce, for an expanded soil conservation program, for protection of farm cooperatives, and for full parity for farmers."

BLENDS & DUMPS: Instead of full parity, most observers are convinced that Benson will propose a two-price system of supports. In the case of wheat, for example, the entire crop would be allowed to sink to the price level of the world market. For that part sold abroad, the farmer would receive the world market price; for that part sold domestically, he would receive the world market price plus a "subsidy" to bring it up to whatever ratio of parity the government decides upon. In any case, the "blended" return for his entire crop will be far less than the present supports at 90% of parity.

Another gimmick in the new Benson plan will be application of a "modernized" parity formula which will be at least 6% below the one presently used.

In addition to reducing the farmers' total income, the two-price system will lead to new frictions abroad with protests against the U. S. "dumping" its agricultural surpluses on the world market.

THE READY AX: Benson has already carried out one large part of his new plans without benefit of Congress; the virtual destruction of the elaborate soil conservation program begun in 1935 under the Roosevelt administration. Benson outlined his proposal on Oct. 13, asked for full discussion, said he would not go ahead without favorable response.

The response was unfavorable; top Congressional leaders urged no action without full Congressional study. On Nov. 2 Benson, with Eisenhower's blessing, ordered the change into immediate effect. Abolished were seven regional conservation districts; what remains of the program will be handled by the states.

Drop in Living Costs Seen Despite New Rise

Los Angeles Examiner

Dr. Hugh H. Bennett, who headed the Soil Conservation Service since its inception until 1951, called the Benson move "the greatest agricultural error in the life of the nation." Barrow Lyons, one-time chief information officer of the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation, writes in the current issue of **Frontier** magazine:

> "It probably will require months, perhaps years, before the public becomes fully aware of how serious a blow was dealt to the national welfare by the Eisenhower administration's plan for reorganization of the Dept. of Agriculture. . . . Operating as a means of putting into action administration political doctrine, it may become one of the most serious setbacks to American economic and social health ever experienced. Relief can come only through discovery of how insidiously dangerous this move can be."

1st CLASS WRECKING: Madison, Wis., **Capital Times** made a survey of a typical farm county to see how the new Benson plan is working out, found that only 20% of farmers signed up for the new program; in other counties the proportion was down to 5% and 10%. The paper commented:

> "If Dane County is typical of what is going on in other counties it is quite apparent that the Benson program is succeeding in wrecking the soil conservation program, one of the truly great achievements of the New Deal. . . . When they can discourage 80% of the farmers from joining up in the program . . . they are succeeding in their goals beyond their own estimates."

Benson himself was going about his wrecking with a clear conscience. At a recent Mormon Church conference he offered two nuggets of his philosophy; for one he quoted an elderly Englishwoman:

> "When things go well we give God the credit. But when things go wrong we say it is a test of the faith."

For the other he quoted a Mormon bishop trying to encourage a young farmer whose peach crop was ruined by frost:

> "I'm sure God knows he can't produce the best men without frost. And God is engaged in building men, not peaches."

Well, that's Life

Secy. of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson has a horror of subsidies, especially to farmers. In a recent speech Charles Brannan, Benson's predecessor, set part of the record straight on subsidies. He pointed out that over the last 17 years, government subsidies to newspapers and magazines in the form of second class mailing rights have amounted to more than twice as much as all the subsidies to all U. S. agriculture. Life magazine alone is subsidized by the government at the rate of $8,000,000 a year.

A LIFETIME IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Corliss Lamont is honored at dinner; press smear fails to scare speakers

AT a New York dinner commemorating the 162d anniversary of the Bill of Rights, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee honored Corliss Lamont, author of books on Humanist philosophy and the Soviet Union. Lamont, who recently (while stating he never was a Communist) declined to answer McCarthy Committee questions on the ground of the First Amendment, received a citation as "a courageous and uncompromising supporter of the Bill of Rights."

The guests heard lawyer Philip Wittenberg explain the significance of Lamont's stand: he had made his decision, knowing that a jail term loomed, as a testament to his faith in the Constitution and his beliefs. Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton, who also spoke, put the job for liberals squarely: to disabuse themselves of the internal "threat of communism" and expose the hoax before the whole American people.

A few days earlier Frederick Woltman, witch-hunt correspondent of the N. Y. **World-Telegram,** had reported a "raging controversy" in the American Civil Liberties Union "over the open sympathies toward Communist Russia of one of the most active members of its board of directors, Dr. Corliss Lamont." Woltman said "other board members, including Norman Thomas, reportedly threatened to resign" and that ACLU's nominating committee had decided not to renominate Lamont. "Further complicating the picture," he added, was the fact that Presbyterian minister Dr. John Paul Jones, an ACLU natl. board member and chairman of the N. Y. Civil Liberties Union, was to speak with Lamont at the dinner of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee—which Woltman said was "charged" with being "a Communist front."

LIBERTIES FOR ALL: Lamont at the dinner said Woltman had a world's record for trying to break up meetings, but had not succeeded this time. (The turnout of 500, and the fact that Dr. Jones spoke as scheduled, testified to Woltman's failure.)

In his speech after accepting the ECLC citation Lamont said "we are facing the most serious civil liberties crisis in the history of the U.S.," and that:

> "The clear meaning of the Bill of Rights is that all individuals and groups in America shall enjoy full civil liberties. That means everyone: reactionaries, fascists, liberals, progressives, business men, tycoons, workers, Socialists, Trotskyites, Communists, Catholics, atheists and all the infinite varieties of crackpots, fanatics and self-appointed saviors of mankind. As soon as we start making exceptions to the Bill of Rights in any direction, we are lost."

Lamont's forthright statement clashed head-on with an ACLU ad in **The Nation's** annual civil liberties issue (2/12), soliciting new members but warning that "only those whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK or other totalitarian doctrine" need apply. (New York progressive circles felt that if ACLU could capture and exhibit a person "whose devotion to civil liberties is qualified by adherence to KKK doctrine," it would at least solve its financial problems.)

I. F. Stone's Weekly (12/14) reported that ACLU affiliates have "cast all but 600 of their 16,000 votes" against the national board's proposed change of policy "which would have accepted much of the premises and mechanisms of the American Inquisition."

•

BRING ANOTHER TREE INTO THE ACT BY FILLING IN THE COUPON BELOW (SEE REPORT TO READERS, PAGE 2).

SPECIAL HOLIDAY GIFT SUB OFFER

Give your friends the facts to start the New Year right

$1 for six full months — 26 issues

Name Street City Zone State

1. .....

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List additional names on separate sheet. This offer terminates Dec. 31. It is limited to persons who are not already subscribers.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

McCARTHY FOR PRESIDENT IN '56?

What makes Joe run?

WHEN the Madison, Wis., **Capital Times**, long-time foe of McCarthyism, last September suggested that the red-scare Senator was aiming for the Presidency, few responsible persons took the idea seriously. By this month, few doubts of the McCarthy ambition remained. After the Senator used $300,000 of free air time to criticize the Administration for not cracking down hard enough on allies trading with China, and to suggest that he (McCarthy) was a top issue in the next elections, most were convinced with the **Capital Times** (11/26) that "Sen. McCarthy has begun his march." Washington **UP** correspondent Lyle C. Wilson reported (11/30):

> "There is ample evidence here that some distinguished Administration insiders believe McCarthy is grabbing for the 1956 Republican Presidential nomination."

Columnist Marquis W. Childs commented (11/30):

> "He carved out for himself, boldly and aggressively, a new political party, the McCarthy Party."

The Wall St. Journal noted (12/3):

> "Some men around Ike think Mr. McCarthy wants to be President. Others figure only that he wants more power in the GOP. But nearly all the old-time Eisenhower backers agree that Mr. McCarthy represents a serious threat to their leadership of the party, one way or another."

Yet in the Eisenhower-McCarthy contest for power, both men stood on the same false premise that what Americans need most is bigger and better spy-hunting. **WSJ** put it bluntly:

> "It was for the precise purpose of stealing Mr. McCarthy's thunder that the President is said to have given advance blessing to Atty. Gen. Brownell's criticism of ex-President Truman for his 'blindness' toward Harry Dexter White and other alleged spies."

"THE SAVIOR": For his attempted march to power, McCarthy has some heavyweight gun-toters and pack-bearers. Richard Wilson, head of the Washington Bureau of Cowles Publications, reported in **Look** (12/1) that 'more than 70 persons are playing major roles in the McCarthy retinue." These include

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
NEW YEAR'S CRUSADE?

journalists, diplomats, politicians, top generals and millionaires:

> "Some want to make him President. Others think association with him will be a springboard to a bigger future. Many passionately believe he will be the savior of America."

McCarthy has the solid support of the McCormick and Hearst newspapers, is backed by most of the Scripps-Howard chain.

In New York former Rep. Hamilton Fish called a meeting of some 35 leading Republicans to reorganize the scattered remnants of "isolationism" under the new name of American Action Committee. Participants included former Senators Burton K. Wheeler and Albert W. Hawkes; Frank E. Gannett, owner of an upstate New York newspaper chain; and a "personal representative" of Col. Robert R. McCormick. The group announced that if the GOP nominates another "internationalist" for President in 1956, it would form a third party, McCarthy is the logical recipient of this group's support.

THE SUGAR: McCarthy backers include some of the country's richest oil and cattle men, most of them in Texas. Listed as his friends are C. "Dick" Andrade 3d, whose $50,000,000 fortune is considered small by Texas standards; Clint Murchison, whose business holding exclusive of oil and cattle interests have combined assets of about $281,000,000; H. R. Cullen, Houston oil man; and H. L. Hunt, who is sometimes called the richest man in the U.S.—his oil holdings alone are estimated at $600,000,000.

Hunt is behind an "Americans for America" organization, which contributed scores of thousands of dollars in last year's elections to defeat liberal candidates, and a "Facts Forum," which fights "the battle to dispel apathy" through neighborhood forums, radio, TV, printed (non-union) material, a public opinion poll, free distribution of super-right-wing material, a public opinion poll, and a variety of cash prizes for public participation. The present Mrs. McCarthy helped launch the radio-TV program. First guest on the first show was the Senator himself; his "moderator" was Robert E. Lee, former FBI agent and a McCarthy coworker who now, by appointment of President Eisenhower, is a member of the Federal Communications Commission. Also associated with Facts Forum is Victor Johnston, exec. director of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee. Facts Forum is increasing its radio-TV outlets constantly; by last count it was carried on 115 radio stations, 30 TV stations. The network is McCarthy's any time he wants it.

THE BRAINS: Some of the programs are sponsored by big oil companies like Mid-Continent Supply, which calls itself "the world's largest independent oil field supply company," and a firm that signs off like this: ". . . Before drilling your next well, ask for a bid from the Penrod Drilling Co." This is Facts Forum's advisory board:

> Gen. Robert E. Wood, head of Sears-Roebuck and former America First chairman; actor John Wayne; Gen. Albert E. Wedemeyer, war-time chief of staff to Chiang Kai-shek and now with fabulously rich Avco Mfg. Co., the Victor Emanuel industrial empire; Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas; Maj. B. A. Hardey (chairman), past pres. of the Independent Petroleum Assn.; Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, pastor of New York's Marble Collegiate Church and former leader of the pro-Nazi Comm. for Constitutional Govt.; Lloyd E. Skinner, wealthy macaroni manufacturer of Omaha, Neb.; David P. Strickler, Colorado Springs attorney; Harry E. Rogier, pres. of the First Natl. Bank of Vandalia, Ill.; Houston oilman William N. Blanton; W. G. Vollmer, pres. of the Texas & Pacific Ry.; All-American football player Doak Walker; E. E. McQuillen of Texas A & M College; Dr. Francis P. Gaines, pres. of Virginia's Washington & Lee University; and Hanford MacNider, banker and manufacturer who headed the American Legion in 1921-1922 when that organization helped stir up the Palmer red raids and its members participated in lynch attacks on the IWW.

"I HOPE, THE ROPE": With this kind of heady and well-heeled backing, the McCarthy march is bound to be a rough one. How rough it might be was suggested recently when Dr. David W. Soper, chairman of the Dept. of Religion at Wisconsin's Beloit College, made a speech attacking McCarthyism as "a threat to Christianity" and likened it to Nazism. He was promptly swamped with mail, only about one-third of it complimentary. The non-complimentary messages included such epithets for the professor as "rat" and "Bible-toting bum." One writer said:

> "If McCarthy ever gets anything on you, I hope you get the rope."

Whatever latent, passive or dormant lynch spirit exists in this country, the Wisconsin Senator is clearly its spokesman and organizer.

Bring another tree into the act with our special holiday offer for introductory subs. See Report to Readers, p. 2.

JAPAN'S "ROSENBERG CASE": A CALL FOR U. S. SUPPORT

The Matsukawa Frame-up

THIS week, on Dec. 22, the Higher Court of Sendai, Japan, is scheduled to give a ruling on the Matsukawa Case, which has become as celebrated in Japan as the Rosenberg Case here.

On Aug. 17, 1949, a passenger train was derailed near Matsukawa station on the Japanese National Railway. The train overturned, killing three railwaymen. It happened at a time when the Japanese government had just discharged 75,000 state railway workers and others employed by the state-owned public utilities; and important industries, such as the Tokyo Shibaura Electric Machine Co.—which had changed over to munitions production—had fired workers known to be progressives. There were widespread protests against these discharges and the employers' attempt to force down wages and increase the work norm.

THE SCREWDRIVER: The Matsukawa incident provided a diversion. A month afterwards 20 union members—one of them a woman—were arrested and charged with responsibility for the derailment and the death of the three railwaymen. At the trial, families of five defendants testified that they were home when they were accused of loosening rails six miles away. One defendant, who was suffering from a fractured pelvic bone, was supposed to have traveled 17 miles at over 4 m.p.h. to be at the derailing scene.

The prosecution's only evidence consisted of a screwdriver, a nine-inch wrench and a claw hammer of the type used exclusively by the U. S. occupation forces. Although the station master wrote that no screwdriver could have dislodged the rail spikes fixed under a pressure of several tons, and it was shown that another train had passed over the spot only 20 minutes earlier when the track was apparently in good condition, the prosecution charged the defendants with removing several spikes with these tools in 20 minutes.

WORLD-WIDE FIGHT: The trial lasted a year, with 96 public hearings; the judge sentenced five workers to death, five to life imprisonment and ten to a total of 95½ years. After listening to an appeal by a group of lawyers, Sendai's Higher Court declared the first trial "inappropriate," ordered a rehearing; after another prolonged trial, the 20 defendants were again pronounced guilty last July. The Higher Court of Sendai was again asked for a ruling on the lower court's decision.

More than 170 jurists have formed defense committees, supported by 178 men representing political and non-political parties, and the four million-strong Japanese Labor Union Council. More than six million individuals, including nearly two million members of trade unions and other organizations, have signed petitions demanding acquittal of the defendants. Protests have come from all over the world. In their appeal to Japanese workers, the Matsukawa 20 declared:

> "We are sentenced to death because of our struggle for independence, freedom and peace for Japan. We are sentenced to death without having committed any crime . . . but we are confident in world peace and in the people's strength. We are confident that 'truth is always victorious.' We shall fight to the end."

An appeal to Americans

On behalf of the 20 defendants in the Matsukawa case (pictured above), the GUARDIAN has received this appeal from Hiroshi Akama of the Matsukawa Jiken Taisaku Iinkai (Matsukawa Case Committee): ". . . To all Americans who love freedom and democracy: We cannot repeat the same tragedy the Rosenbergs faced. It is not only a matter of being Japanese or Americans. It is a question of the human race all over the world repeating this same pattern. We urgently ask our American friends to cable protests for the lives of these 20 people to Judge Teijiro Suzuki, Sendai Koto Saibansho, Sendai, Japan, and to Premier Shigeru Yoshida, Tokyo."

NEW YORK EDITION

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THERE WAS SOMETHING ROTTEN IN NEW YORK

And it was plain for all to see what it was during the strike of private-contract waste collectors. The sight above was a fragrantly familiar one in the streets of our town. The 1,500 members of Local 813 AFL Teamsters are seeking a wage increase of $10 a week and welfare benefits. The employers offered $5. At presstime there was still no settlement.

THE VIEW FROM WASHINGTON SQUARE

In a neighborhood of slum and swank, big families, night life and colleges, who makes way for what?

By Ione Kramer

THE Washington Square area is a combination of Greenwich Village artiness, tumbledown tenements, swanky residences, night clubs, a park for kids and a college campus. The Board of Estimate was considering a redevelopment plan for the neighborhood and the big question is: who is to make room for what?

The redevelopment and "slum clearance" plan as announced by City Planning Commr. Moses Sept. 24 would provide a total of 4,156 new apartments in two areas south of the Square. They break down this way:

- 2,184 apartments renting from $48 a room and garages for 850 cars to be constructed by private builders on land acquired by the city under Title I of the 1949 Housing Act. These apartments will be built in an area bounded by W. 3d St., Mercer St., W. B'way and Houston St., now occupied by loft buildings.
- 1,440 low-rent apartments (from $9-12 per room) to be built with state aid.
- 432 middle-income apartments ($20 a room) built by the City Housing Authority. These and the low-income houses are to be known as the Mary K. Simkhovitch Houses.
- About 3 acres of land bordering on the Square (bounded by W. 4th St., Mercer St., W. 3d St. and W. B'way) to be purchased by the city and resold to N. Y. University.

NICE DEAL: NYU, a strictly private institution, would pick up a rare bargain, the taxpayers take a loss. Under the Moses plan, the Commission on Slum Clearance would buy the land at $19.88 per sq. foot and sell it to NYU at $5. The difference would be paid ⅓ from city, ⅔ from federal funds. Private contractors getting in on the deal will buy land from the commission at $13.50 a sq. foot.

Main objection to the plan is that $48-a-room luxury apartments are being built in an area where 1% of the area's present occupants can possibly afford them, at a time when the city needs low- and middle-income housing desperately. The low-income projects might eventually accommodate many of the Square's poor. Middle-income tenants may be caught in the squeeze, unable to qualify for the low-income apartments; there are too many of them to fit into the middle-income project.

WHITHER? For all the residents of the Square the problem was: where to go now? It was the familiar relocation problem plaguing those who must make way for new housing.

Some 2,400 families will be displaced, mainly from the site of the Simkhovitch projects. These will join the 56,000 families who, it is predicted, will be displaced by new construction throughout the city in the next three years. Commr. Moses is reported sitting on a dynamite-laden report on the

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

THE WITCH-HUNT'S HIS OWN, BUT —

Wagner passes buck to Dewey on dough even before he's in

By Elmer Bendiner

AS Mayor-elect Robert F. Wagner shaped his program last week, it became clear that City Hall's major preoccupation in the election year of 1954 would be to clear skirts and pass the buck.

The pattern was set by Impellitteri who repeatedly traveled to Albany and returned to pose pathetically with his hands tied while fares and rents were raised. Wagner last week announced tax and school programs which depend almost entirely upon the unlikely approval of the GOP-controlled Legislature. The Mayor-elect seemed ready to have his hands tied.

"PAINLESS" TAXES: The new tax program for raising $150,000,000 more revenue would boost real estate taxes from 2 to 2½%—falling alike on small house-owners and big-business commercial properties which, as the American Labor Party pointed out during the campaign, are frequently evaluated for tax purposes at 1932 levels. The real estate boost would yield $60,000,000. The rest would come from increased state aid, restoration of the city's share of the pari-mutuel tax, and an as yet unspecified tax described only as "painless." Wagner made it clear the 3% sales tax would remain.

On schools, Wagner said he would ask the state for $20,000,000 to raise teachers' pay, amounting to about $400 a year for each if applied across the board. The Teachers Union in commenting on the proposal pointed out that during his campaign Wagner supported a demand for a $750 raise from city funds and another $750 from state funds. Union spokesmen said that while they would support any fight Wagner would make to get more aid from Albany, "salary increases must not be entirely dependent on state aid." Also dependent on Albany's nod would be $60,000,000 for school operating costs and new construction.

THE BIG HUNT: The incoming administration seemed prepared to accept full responsibility for at least one development: the biggest witch-hunt in the city's history. The hunt was organized by the Civil Service Commission, but clearly with the approval—some reporters said under the direction—of Peter Campbell Brown Wagner's choice for Commissioner of Investigations.

The plan was to submit questionnaires to city employes in 18 agencies designated as touching on the city's security: Markets, Housing, Water Supply, Civil Service, Budget, Sheriff's Office, Police, Fire, Health, Triboro Bridge, Public Works, Gas & Electricity, WNYC, Transit Authority, Investigation, Marine, Mayor's Office. Each employe would have to answer 12 questions, covering not only the usual $64 ones but others like this one which could make drinking a cocktail in the wrong living-room grounds for dismissal: "Did you ever attend or participate in any way in any meeting, convention, affair, activity, party, demonstration or gathering of any kind held by or on behalf of any organizations listed [by Atty. Gen.]?

Save us

A FOX TROT,

Angel,

at the Guardian's

WINTER BALL

Thurs., Feb. 11

Manhattan Center

AFL SEEKS TEST: At first the questionnaire was reportedly directed to all 100,000 employes in the agencies named. Later it was said only new applicants, or those promoted, transferred or reinstated, would have to answer.

The AFL American Fedn. of State, County & Municipal Employes moved quickly for a court test, asked for and got an order from State Supreme Court Justice Henry Clay Greenberg directing the Civil Service Commission to appear Thursday, Dec. 17, and show why they should not be restrained from issuing the questionnaires.

O. K. "AS SUCH": The union's general representative Jerry Wurf was handicapped in fighting the program by his feeling that it was necessary to capitulate most of the way before taking a stand. He assured the court that the union "had no quarrel with the questionnaire as such . . . ," then objected that the wording was too vague and broad: "A single party forgotten, a single 'indirect' gift overlooked, a single letter that escapes memory, and the employe runs the risk of perjury."

Wurf had said earlier that the union might advise members not to answer the questionnaire. Such resistance, it was plain, would depend on how the city backed the city's workers. Up to the week-end there was no word from labor leaders who had supported Wagner, nor from any other organized group in the city.

FAST PITCH TO CITY LABOR

One strike-out; two strikes loom on piers and in subways

THE city's unions last week were concerned with one strike that had passed and two others in the talking stage.

When Dennis Burke, pres. of Local 1 of the Intl. Photo-Engravers, urged his union to settle the big newspaper strike, he asked them to consider the 20,000 newspaper workers "who have nothing to do with this strike" but refused to cross the picket lines.

Actually, as soon as the photo-engravers accepted the $3.75 package, it was offered as a model to the industry's six other mechanical unions. Local 1 of the AFL Intl. Stereotypers Union took the package last week, said they'd cut it this way: $2 in wage boosts, $1.75 in fringe benefits including one additional paid holiday. They also wanted a fact-finding committee to recommend any additions to the package. The fact-finders in the photo-engravers strike had not yet reported at GUARDIAN press time.

STRIKE TALK: There was loud talk about two strikes to come—on the waterfront and in the subways—but there were also grounds for belief that the strikes would be unlikely.

On the piers the Taft-Hartley 80-day anti-strike injunction was to run out on Christmas Eve. The Shipping Assn., talking loudest about the strike

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

THEY PROTESTED THE BLACKLIST

ILA dockworkers denied work permits picketed New York piers in a 24-hour strike when the waterfront law took effect Dec. 1.

N. Y. Labor

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

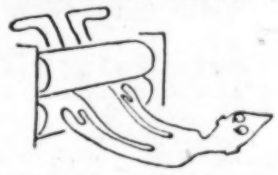
possibilities, said they couldn't negotiate unless they knew which union—the old or the new ILA—represented the longshoremen. The new AFL-ILA clearly felt unsure of its strength and sought to delay elections.

THREE LAPS: The whole problem was in the lap of a 3-man Natl. Labor Relations Board panel. It was thought likely they would set an election date for some time after the Christmas deadline. If the old ILA struck under a no-contract-no-work banner, the shippers could then ask for a state court injunction which would almost certainly be granted.

The longshoreman, tangled in legal snarls, was unlikely to get his chance to strike for his demands: a 23c-an-hour wage raise (to $2.50) and a guaranteed 8-hour work day. Meanwhile he shaped up in government hiring halls, was handpicked often by the same hiring bosses who had run the kickback, shake-down rackets before the government stepped in.

MOUTHS & MONEY: Many of the longshoremen knew they were being wooed and felt wary. The **Dockers News**, issued by a rank-and-file group, carried this message from "a west side docker" (anonymity is often necessary in rank-and-file waterfront movements):

"Lately us dock workers seem to make a lot of easy friends. The ILA and the AFL are making a big pitch with circulars and newspapers and it's all on the house. A lot of the guys in my gang have cards in both the ILA and the AFL.



But I don't think the men are falling for the line of either the ILA or the AFL. . . . I don't see either the AFL or the ILA putting their money where their mouth is. . . . I can see how we'll just end up with the same old raw deal and maybe worse."

VISIT FROM JOHN L.: On a waterfront where neither union could rally any enthusiasm among the longshoremen, a rumor grew that John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers might step in. Lewis was said to have met recently with deposed ILA pres. Joseph P. Ryan in Manhattan's Barclay Hotel. Alongside that story came word that racket boss Anthony Anastasio was preparing to organize the hiring bosses and pier superintendents who are forbidden, under the new legislation, to belong to a longshoremen's union.

The Brooklyn **Daily Eagle** said Anastasio's lawyer Joseph J. Petito confirmed that the Intl. Pier Superintendents & Hiring Foremen was about to be organized and that he, Petito, had a hand in it, but he denied that Anastasio was involved. Petito indicated the new union would have a "parent body" but declined to name it.

QUILL'S TAILSPIN: Michael Quill, pres. of the CIO Transport Workers Union, called strike too last week as he stormed out of a negotiation session with the Transit Authority, where the union had been pressing for a 25c-an-hour raise and improved working conditions. Quill denounced the TA's "treadmill negotiations" and "planned slowdown at the bargaining table." He said if the TA did not come to terms the transit lines would be "thrown into a tailspin" on New Year's Day. But later he said he had already approved a "fact-finding" formula, and that the heat centered mainly around rejection of the union's demand that any gains to come out of a fact-finding commission be made retroactive to Jan. 1. Quill also said he expected Mayor-elect Wagner to intervene.

Quill's strike talk had a new edge to it. Recent elections in TWU Local 100 had shown his administration slipping badly. His slate headed by Matthew Guinan won, but the tally showed a minority of 42% backing a rank-and-file slate that demanded more union democracy, an end to intra-union witch-hunting and over-reliance on boards and arbitration awards. The rank-and-file slate headed by James Donegan received 7,007 votes; Guinan, 10,129. Some 4,000 ballots were invalidated. It was the biggest anti-Quill groundswell to date.

Washington Sq.

(Continued from page 1)

relocation problem. Last week the N. Y. **Post**'s Ted Poston said he had a glimpse of the report, and it revealed that "slum families are driven into worse slums" because of "the failure of city agencies to develop an all-over relocation program." Demands grew throughout the city that slum clearance be held up until the report is released.

A PATTERN TO KEEP: At a recent City Planning Commission hearing housing expert Charles Abrams said: "The plan in its present form is ill-conceived, fails to fulfill the neighborhood's needs." He favored a plan "starting from the premise that the best things in the Village . . . are worth preserving: the pattern of community living with special provisions for those who need it most, families with children." (More than half of the luxury apartments will have only 2 rooms, no bedroom; all others will be 3 and 3½ rooms with one bedroom, clearly ruling out kids.)

The Greenwich Av. Club of the American Labor Party urged that low-rent apartments be built on the northernmost section of the area (earmarked for the luxury apartments) which would displace very few families; only when these apartments are ready for occupancy should the crowded blocks in the southern section be leveled. The ALP added that if NYU was to get the gravy it ought to pay some of it back in the form of free scholarships for city high school graduates.

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McCarthy to be 'tried' in N. Y.

IN a formally-drawn "indictment" last week Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy was charged with violating two sections of the federal criminal code, the Corrupt Practices Act and two amendments to the U. S. Constitution. A full-scale trial of McCarthy before "the court of public opinion" was set for Wednesday, Jan. 6 at St. Nicholas Arena, 66th St. and B'way.

Attorneys Frank Serri and Russ Nixon, who drew up the indictment, will serve as prosecuting attorneys at the public trial. The jury will be the audience (admission: 75c).

Witnesses scheduled to testify against McCarthy are:

Dr. Corliss Lamont; Dr. Alpheus Hunton, exec. secy., Council on African Affairs; Julius Emspak, United Electrical Workers Union; Rev. William H. Melish; Rockwell Kent, artist; Ben Gold, Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union pres.; Lester Cole; Howard Fast; Abraham Flaxer; James Aronson, exec. editor, GUARDIAN; Mrs. Eslanda Robeson; Albert Kahn, author and pres. of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order; Lou Spindell, athlete and McCarthy victim in the school system; Dr. Melba Phillips, scientist and victim of McCarthyism; Charles Allen Jr.

ANGELS WANTED

Belfrage Fight Back Comm. needs clerical help during office hours and Wednesday evenings. Angels please call Isabel at WO 4-3960.

FLAGG GROUP CARRIES ON

Bedford-Stuyvesant League born; first job is state elections

TWO groups insistently knocked on the door of the mayor-elect last week: the city's Negro and Puerto Rican voters. They drew strength from the last election campaign in which they showed remarkable ability to buck political machines.

LEWIS S. FLAGG JR.
There was a first vicor y

All through the primary and election campaigns white and Negro volunteers worked out of an office above the Baby Grand Cafe at 1274 Fulton St., Bklyn, headquarters of the Committee to Elect Lewis S. Flagg Jr.

Flagg told the primary volunteers before primary day: "This issue is bigger than any one candidate and this movement will go on until the machine is licked."

Flagg won the Democratic Party primary and the election and became first Negro judge in the municipal court. Last week, with the machine licked, the movement picked new targets.

NEXT ON AGENDA: First they changed their name to the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League, chose as their objectives: election of Brooklyn's first Negro state senator and at least two state assemblymen. For Flagg the committee planned a testimonial dinner Feb. 18 at the St. George Hotel.

Brooklyn now has one Negro legislator, Assemblyman Bertram Baker (Dem.). Wesley McD. Holder, chairman of the newly-formed league, said Bedford-Stuyvesant had profited from the GOP gerrymander pushed through Albany.

NEW OBSTACLES: The Legislature had two GOP redistricting plans, both giving GOP areas greater representation at the expense of Democratic areas but differing exclusively on how to map Brooklyn. Brooklyn's GOP leader John Crews backed an elaborate gerrymander that would have divided Bedford-Stuyvesant into three Senatorial districts with a corridor down the middle, making election of Negro senators extremely difficult.

The victorious gerrymander, proposed by Westchester Sen. Pliny Williamson and now in effect, groups almost all of Bedford-Stuyvesant in the new 11th senatorial district, giving Negroes in the area a far higher percentage than in the 21st SD, Manhattan, which last year elected the first Negro to the state senate, Julius Archibald.

"WE'RE AVAILABLE": The Flagg campaign had other repercussions. **Amsterdam News** columnist Chollie Herndon reported last week: "A new organization to co-ordinate uptown political activities on every level in every party is in process of formation. The group says it is taking a lesson from the successful Flagg campaign." The Harlem Affairs Committee, which figured prominently in electing a Negro to Manhattan's borough presidency, continues active.

In a polite but forceful letter a group of Negro businessmen and community leaders last week reminded Mayor-elect Wagner that Negroes are available for service on at least his advisory council. So far Wagner has not mentioned any possible Negro appointee.

OUT IN THE COLD? New York **Age** columnist Leslie Matthews said Negro pro-Wagner campaign workers "believe they will be left out in the cold if Louis Cohen gets the appointment as first deputy controller." Controller-elect Gerosa has reportedly picked Cohen, a machine man who worked as O'Dwyer's chief patronage dispenser.

Another group seeking conferences with Wagner is the Committee for Spanish Unity which wants assurances that the Democratic Party will back a Puerto Rican candidate for Assembly from the 14th AD, to fill the seat vacated by Hulan Jack, new Borough President.

The new Spanish weekly **Grafico** backed the move, said it "put in sharp relief the growing importance of this group in all ranks of the city's life."

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Phil Lipkin

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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LITERARY, SOCIAL EVENING. Hear three latest, best stories from ASP writing workshops read by the authors, followed by criticism, discussion by the audience, at ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Sun., Dec. 20, 8:30 p.m. Free refreshments. Social hour. Contribution: 60c.

STIMULATING DISCUSSION! Hear CARL MARZANI, noted author, lecturer, Mon., Dec. 21, 8:30 p.m. 5th A.D. No. ALP, 2542 B'way (95 St.) Admission: Free.

AL MOSS
entertains at Film Division weekly Surprise Party. Social, refreshments and surprise package. Sat., Dec. 19, 9 p.m., at ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: $1.

FOR CHILDREN

YOUNG FOLKS JAMBOREE! Singers, dancers, magicians, puppets. Adm: $1. Sat., Jan. 2, 2 p.m. at Lost Battalion Hall, 93-29 Queens Blvd. (nr. Woodhaven Blvd.) Ausp: Queens County ALP.

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MANDOLIN SYMPHONY ORCH. OF N.Y. Manolin classes for beginners will open Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. Instruction free to members, 50c weekly dues. Non-profit organization. 106 E. 14th St., N. Y. C. 3.

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THREE SPEAK OUT

College heads balk at funds for brain wash

COLLEGE presidents in the city halted a long retreat last week and took a stand against witch-hunters. Chairman of the Board of Higher Education Cavallaro drew their heaviest fire with his announcement that he would accept an anonymous offer to pay for the distribution to college faculties of 4,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled: "Permit Communists To Be Teachers?" by Hamilton A. Long. (The GUARDIAN, 12/14, reported the offer by a "Mr. X" and indicated its acceptance might be illegal.)

The presidents of City, Hunter and Queens Colleges made it clear they were not objecting to the pamphlet's contents (establishing a new epithet—"teacher-conspirators" — and urging that teachers who fail to cooperate with Congressional inquisitions be fired).

ONE IS SILENT: City College pres. Buell Gallagher said: "I have not seen the booklet yet but I oppose its distribution because of the funds behind it, not the contents." If he liked it, he added, he would use CCNY funds to distribute it.

Queens College Pres. John Theobald: "We are not accepting any money from anybody for this purpose." Hunter's George N. Shuster took the same position; Brooklyn College's Harry D. Gideonse declined all comment.

Gallagher also skirmished with Sen. McCarthy when the latter, in questioning witnesses in the Ft. Monmouth "espionage" fiasco, noted that three were classmates of Julius Rosenberg at CCNY, and said: "I think we can have a class reunion."

EMPTY PLACES: Gallagher made no effort to protest McCarthy's smear of the witnesses before him but defended the other alumni from McCarthy's implication of guilt by association with Rosenberg. Gallegher cited their war records, the Purple Hearts and citations, then added:

"We regret that the 307 students and alumni who were killed in action in the last war will not be able to attend any such reunion called by the Senator."

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MARTHA SCHLAMME
with Franz Casseus, guitarist, singer Charles Riley and others of the International Performers Club at Small's Paradise. Their annual Christmas Party: 8:30, Dec. 22; $1.25 at door, $1 in advance.

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Where to Go

Drama

ALL MY SONS, Arthur Miller's 1947 play about a war profiteer. Hudson Guild Community Players, "New York's only non-commercial repertory." 8:40 p.m., Fri., Dec. 18, Tues. & Wed., Dec. 29 & 30. Hudson Guild, 436 W. 27th St. $1; members 50c.

GOAT SONG, by Franz Werfel. Equity Library Theatre, 331 E. 70th St. 8:30 p.m., Dec. 16-20, mat. 3 p.m., Dec. 20. Free. Send stamped, self-addressed envelope to ELT.

MADAM, WILL YOU WALK, Sidney Howard's last play, at the Phoenix Theater, 2d Av. at 12th St., with Jessica Tandy and Hume Cronynn. Nightly except Mon., $1.20-$3, mats. Sat. & Sun., $1.20 to $2.70. AL 4-0525. Cronyn.

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, directed by David Pressman. Greenwich Mews interracial theater, 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. & Fri., 8:40 p.m. Reserv: TR 3-4810.

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. eves., mats. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7845.

OTHELLO, Shakespeare Guild Festival profesional repertory. Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St. Thurs.-Sun. eves., 8:40. $1.20-$1.80; Sat. mat., 2:40. 78c-$1.20. TR 9-5480.

N.Y. CITY CENTER, 131 W. 55th St. Tues.-Sun. eves, $1.20-$3.60. Sat. & Sun. mats. $1.20-$3.

Shakespeare's **Richard III**, Dec. 9-20.

Jose Ferrer & Peggy Wood in **Charley's Aunt**, Dec. 23-Jan. 3.

SIMPLETON OF THE UNEXPECTED ISLES, by G. B. Shaw. Vaughn-James production, Davenport Theater, 138 E. 27th St. 8:45 nightly except Monday. $1-$3. Reserv: MU 4-9485.

Music and Dance

JUDAS MACCABAEUS, Handel's oratorio with folk and other music. Hanukah-Christmas concert, Bronx Jewish Young Folk Singers. 8:30 p.m., Sat., Dec. 19, New Terrace Garden, 2145 Boston Rd. 90c-$1.80.

CONCERT: Edith Allaire, Asian folk songs & Woodwind Trio playing Bach, Mozart, Mihaud. 3:30 p.m., Sun., Dec. 20, Metropolitan Music School, 18 W. 74th St.

FREE MUSEUM CONCERTS: Chas. Pope Choristers, Christmas music, 3 p.m., Sun., Dec. 20, N.Y. Hist. Society, Central Pk. W. & 77 St.

CHRISTMAS EVE HOOTENANNY & DANCE. People's Artists singers, Les Pine, Trio Juvenil, others. Thurs., Dec. 24, Manhattan Center, 34th St. & 8th Av. At door: $1.50; advance $1.25. WA 9-3907.

INTERRACIAL PERFORMERS CLUB — Annual concert and party. Martha Schlamme, folk singer; Franz Casseus, Haitian guitarist; Charles Riley with blues and spirituals; dancing, carols. 8:30 p.m., Tues., Dec. 22, Small's Paradise, 7th Av. & 135th St. Tickets: $1.25 at door, $1 in advance from Miss Bailey at Small's or Harlem YMCA, AU 6-0700, or LE 4-7626 eves.

AMAHL AND THE NIGHT VISITORS, opera by Menotti. Community Opera Co. 2 p.m., Sun., Dec. 27 B'klyn Museum, Eastern P'kway & Wash. Av. Free.

MEDIEVAL ENGLISH CAROLS, Pro Musica Antiqua. 8:40 p.m., Sun., Dec. 27, YM-YWHA, Lexington Av. & 92d St. $2, or $5 subs. for series of 3. TR 6-2366.

AMATO OPERA, 8:30 p.m., 159 Bleecker St. Free. Reserv: GR 7-2844. La Boheme, Dec. 18-20.

LA PUMA OPERA WORKSHOP, 405 W. 41st St. Aida, 8 p.m., Sun., Dec. 13; La Forza Del Destino, 7:45 p.m., Sun., Dec. 20. La Boheme, 8 p.m., Sun., Dec. 27. Free, write for tickets or call TR 4-9646.

MODERN JAZZ—In a blind alley? Forum, Abner Berry, John Hudson Jones, Betty Sanders, chairman. Illustrations by records. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Dec. 20, Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. $1, students 50c.

I. ALEX HERSKOWITZ, exhibition of paintings. Teachers Center Gallery, 206 W. 15th St. Dec. 20-Jan. 9.

For Young and Old

HOLIDAY DANCE FESTIVAL, Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St. Dance Play Program: **Lobster Quadrille, Shepherdess, Indian Sun**. Sat.-Mon., Dec. 26-28; **Merry-Go-Elsewhere, Fable of the Donkey, Sokar and Crocodile**, Tues.-Thurs., Dec. 29-31; **St. George and the Dragon** (5-act play), Fri.-Sun., Jan. 1-3. All seats reserved. Special group rates. Performances 2:30 daily. Single adm. $1. $2.25 for series of three. OR 4-1100.

HANSEL AND GRETEL in English. La Puma Opera Workshop. 3 p.m., Sun., Dec. 28, 405 W. 41st St. Free.

SALZBURG MARIONETTE THEATER, Academy of Music, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl., B'klyn. **The Magic Flute**, Fri., Dec. 25, 8:30 p.m. **The Wizard of Oz**, Sat., Dec. 26, 3 p.m. (Young People's mat.). **Don Giovanni & Nutcracker Suite**, Sat., Dec. 26, 8:30 p.m. $1.20-$2.40. ST 3-6700.

FOLK FESTIVAL, music of Catskills; holiday folk songs, Pete Seeger, Louise Bennett; "Sojourner Truth" cantata by Bob De Cormier and Carl Abrams. Spons: Camp Woodland Parents Assn. 3 p.m., Sun., Dec. 27, The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. $1.20-$2.40. Reserv.: 36 King St., OR 5-4757.

Events for Children

Films

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. **Building A Highway**, Tues., Dec. 22, 3 p.m.; **We Make a Fire & A Visit to Ireland**, Wed., Dec. 23, 3:45 p.m. **The Fireman & The Grey Squirrel**, 11 a.m.; **Littlest Angel & Rumplestiltskin**, 2 p.m.; **Coronation of Queen Elizabeth & People of Chad**, 4 p.m., Sat., Dec. 26.

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. **Daniel Boone & Indian House**, Wed., Dec. 23, 4 p.m. **Nanook of the North**, Mon., Dec. 28, 2 p.m. Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Stevenson's **Treasure Island**, Tues. & Wed., Dec. 29 & 30, at 11 a.m. & 2:30 p.m. Free.

BROADWAY THEATER, Gerald McBoing Boing Symphony; Candid Mike; Hollywood Fun Fest; Bolivar Bonanzo, Wed. thru Fri., Dec. 23-25. 1681 B'way.

CREST THEATER, 1145 Ogden Av., Bronx. **Under Nevada Skies** (Roy Rogers), cartoons, Thurs., Dec. 24.

Plays

CHILDREN'S CARNIVAL, Peace & Brotherhood at Christmas and Hanukah Puppeteers: THE ADVENTURES OF WEE AND USS—**The Spaceship That Brotherhood Built**. Singing, dancing & games. 3 to 10 yrs. Refreshments, gift making. 2 p.m., Sat., Dec. 19, Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. Children free, adults 50c.

CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL, Playmart Children's Theater. Ballet and music. Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57th St. Sat., Dec. 26, 1 & 2:45 p.m. & Sun., Dec. 27, 2:45 p.m. 75c & $1.20. PL 3-0746 or write Playmart, 52 W. 58th St.

ALICE IN WONDERLAND, Dept. of Parks Marionette Theater, B'klyn Museum, Eastern P'kway & Wash. Av. Pick up tickets in adance or write to the Museum. For children only. Tues., Dec. 29, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m. Wed., Dec. 30, 2 p.m.

PIED PIPER OF HAMLIN, Drama & Dance Center of Westchester County, Bronx River P'kway & Central Av. 8 p.m.

PECOS BILL, THE COYOTE COWBOY, by Edwin Strawbridge, Carnegie Hall, 57th St. & 7th Av. 11 a.m., Dec. 26 & 28-31; Sun., Dec. 27, 2:40 p.m. $1.20-$3.60.

GREENSLEEVES, Children's play by adults. YM-YWHA, 92d St. & Lexington Av. Sun.-Thurs., Dec. 27-31. Daily at 11 a.m. & 2:40 p.m.; Sun., Dec. 27, at 3:30 p.m. $1, $1.50 & $2.

75c & $1. RE 4-9529.

Guild, New York Turn Hall, 85th St. & Lexington Av. 2:30 p.m. 75c & $1. CI 7-7460.

LITTLE MEN, Junior Theater, Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Mon.-Wed., Dec. 28-30, 2:15 p.m. $1.20, $1.80 & $2.40. CI 7-7460.

RED RIDING HOOD, Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan-Duane, 201 W. 13th St. at 7th Av. & **A Visit to the Toy Shop** (Songs, games, dances, plays acted by children). Sat., Dec. 26 & Mon.-Thurs., Dec. 28-30, 3 p.m. 76c, $1.20 & $1.80. PL 7-6700.

ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER, Young People's Theater. Drama Lab Theater, 115 W. 52d St. Shows at 12 noon & 2:30 p.m. Dec. 26 & 27 and Jan. 2 & 3. Reservations: CO 5-8593. $1 or 75c for groups of 10 or more.

Miscellaneous

ART FOR WORLD FRIENDSHIP, Children's Show of paintings by children 8-16 yrs. from 35 countries. Sponsored by the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom. Caravan Gallery, 132 E. 65th St. Thru Dec. 31. 3-7 p.m.

CHRISTMAS DANCE, carolling, folk-singing, square and folk dancing. Amer. Youth Hostel, 344 W. 36th St. 8:30 p.m., Sat., Dec. 26. $1.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONCERT, for children 5 to 8 yrs. Gay holiday music. Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra of N. Y. Town Hall, 113 W. 43d St. Sat., Dec. 26, at 3 p.m. $1-$3.

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Movie Suggestions

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **Ivanhoe**, Dec. 27-28.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **Murder on Monday** (Br.), thru Dec. 22; **Roman Holiday**, Dec. 23-25; **Folly To Be Wise** (Br., Alistair Sim), from Dec. 26.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. **39 Steps** (reissue) & **Prowlers of Everglades** (docum.), Dec. 21-25; **Folly To Be Wise** (Br.), from Dec. 26.

BEVERLY, 3d Av. & 50th. **Suspicion & Lady Vanishes** (2 Br. thrillers), thru Dec. 19; **Fanfan the Tulip** (Fr.) & **Outcast of the Islands** (Br.), Dec. 20-23.

CINEMA VERDI, 6th Av. & 39th St. **La Forza Del Destino** (Gobbi, Corradi) & **Barber of Seville** (Tagliavini, Gobbi, Corradi), Dec. 18-25.

COLONY, 1519 2d Av. **Kind Hearts and Coronets** (Br., Guinness) & **Quartet** (Br., Maugham), Dec. 22-23.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, 85th & Madison. **So Big**, Dec. 20-22; **39 Steps**, Dec. 23-24; **Cruel Sea** (Br.), Dec. 25-27.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. **39 Steps**, thru Dec. 24; **Sea Around Us** (docum.) & **Night Without Stars** (Br.), Dec. 25-31.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Limelight & Kind Hearts and Coronets**, thru Dec. 27.

52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. **Lili**, cont.

FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. **Conquest of Everest** (Br. docum.), cont.

GRAMERCY, Lexington & 23d St. **Murder Will Out** (Br.) & **Giselle** (Markova ballet), thru Dec. 19; **Suspicion** (Br.) & **Kiss of Death** (reissue), Dec. 22-24; **Sea Around Us** (docum.) & **Night Without Stars** (Br.), Dec. 25-29.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. **Suspicion & Out of the Past** (reissues), thru Dec. 19.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th. **Martin Luther** (docum. biog.), cont.

HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. **Come Back Little Sheba & Trio** (Maugham), thru Dec. 22; **Five Fingers** (Br.) & **Viva Zapata**, from Dec. 23.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, Heidi (Swiss, Eng. dubbed), opens Dec. 19.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. **The Little Fugitive** (Morris Engel-Ray Ashley Venice winner), cont.

PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. **Captain's Paradise** (Br., Guinness), cont.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Julius Caesar**, cont.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d. **Top Hat** (1935 Rogers-Astaire reissue), cont.

60TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 60th. **Annapurna** (mtn.-climbing docum.), cont.

68TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 1164 3d Av. **American in Paris**, thru Dec. 20; **Story of 3 Loves**, Dec. 21-24; **Hans Christian Andersen**, Dec. 25-29.

STANLEY, 7th Av. at 42d St. **Chuk and Gek** (2 Russ. boys in the Arctic, Venice '52 prize-winner), & **Daring Circus Youth**, Moscow circus, color), opens Dec. 19.

SUTTON, 3d Av. & 57th St. **Disney's Living Desert** (full-length docum.), cont.

THALIA, 95th & B'way. **Symphonie Pastorale** (Fr., M. Morgan) & **Devil in the Flesh** (Fr., G. Philipe), thru Dec. 22; **Masquerade in Vienna** (musical) & **De Maupassant's Bel Ami**, Dec. 22-24; **Fanfan the Tulip** & **Justice Is Done** (both Fr., an outstanding bill), Dec. 25-31.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **Sword and the Rose** & **Prowlers of the Everglades** (both by Disney), Dec. 24-25.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. 8:30 & 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. **"The Movies & How They Grew"** High point of the "real-life" film: **Louisiana Story**, dir. Robert Flaherty. Dec. 18-20.

Christmas garland of old-time favorites; M. Pickford, L. Barrymore, Flora Finch, G. Swanson, Fatty Arbuckle, others, in early one-reelers. Dec. 26-27. (No show Fri., Dec. 25).

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily.

The Mikado, Kenny Baker & D'Oyly Carte Co. in 1939 G & S production. Dec. 28-Jan. 3.

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CIRCUS ☆ "Chuk and Gek"

STANLEY 7th AVE. bet 42 & 41 STS.

DEC. 18-20:

The Movies: How They Grew

LOUISIANA STORY

Robert Flaherty's real-life film of a Cajun Huckelberry Finn.

Dec. 26-27: "Old Time Favorites"

Shows at 8:30 & 10 p.m.

Fri., Sat. & Sun.

Members, $1; Non-Members $1.25

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7th A. D. Club ALP — Adm. Free

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Laura Duncan
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Puerto Rican Trio Juvenil
Betty Sanders
Pete Seeger
Al Wood
Mel Mack & his Cosmopolitans

People's Artists Xmas Eve

HOOTENANNY

& DANCE

THURSDAY, DEC. 24 — 8:30 P.M.

Manhattan Center (34 St. & 8 Av.)

Tickets: $1.25 in advance (reserved), $1.50 at door, now available at Workers, Jefferson Bookshops, Bookfair (113 W. 49th St.), Music Room, Berliner's Music, People's Artists, 124 W. 21st St. WA 9-2907.

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An undaunted Vincent Hallinan chooses prison — and he tells why

Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, was sentenced Dec. 8 to $50,000 fines and 18 months in jail for $35,000 income tax evasion (a sum whittled down from $190,000 which the government originally charged him with holding back). This is the statement he has sent to the GUARDIAN.

By Vincent Hallinan

ROSS, CALIF.

I DO not intend to appeal from the judgment of conviction in my recent tax-evasion trial.

I do wish to inform those who have been engaged with me in the great struggle, which is now convulsing this nation, the reasons for this decision.

In the first place, the government's case was based almost entirely on deductions and expenses which it claimed were not allowable. We challenged the prosecution to show one false entry, one fictitious check or invoice, one "kick-back" or other fraudulent device. Instead it produced such items as the following: my office received, for defending Harry Bridges, Bob Robertson and Henry Schmidt, a total fee of $15,000. I personally expended over $16,500 on the case, a large part on a campaign for support and funds for the defense. The government said these were not deductible because the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Committee was on the Atty. General's subversive list. One juror told me the majority of the jury were more concerned with my representation of Bridges than with any possible tax evasion.

Another item was the payment of a salary to my father as secy. of a corporation controlled by us. He received the salary and paid income taxes on it, but they held that the duties he performed were insufficient to justify the $9,000 per year—although he did what the directors of all big corporations did, except that he did not play golf.

A federal jury is drawn mostly from the lower middle class, is thoroughly intimidated and never acquits in political cases. Unfortunately, its determination on questions of fact is conclusive on an appeal; and whether deductions are justified or taken in good faith is a question of fact.

AN APPEAL in this case would go to the same Circuit Court which upheld my conviction for contempt and wrote an unwarranted and vicious opinion in doing so. This is the same court which ignored the plain mandate of the law to sustain the conviction of Harry Bridges, and which was later overruled by the Supreme Court in that case. Pollyanna herself would not expect me to get a reversal in this instance from it.

The Internal Revenue Dept. has placed exorbitant and unjust liens upon the properties and moneys of my wife and children. It will not even discuss a settlement of these liens while a criminal case is pending, and the interest on these claims is piling up. All funds have been impounded and it is not possible to withdraw attorney fees or costs. Many of the properties involved are heavily mortgaged and a long delay in getting rid of the liens may result in foreclosures and loss of these properties. An appeal would cost at least $75,000, and I do not propose to bankrupt my family by futile legal maneuvers.

In addition to this, Judge Edward Murphy, who tried the case, is one of the few federal judges witn any pretense to liberality. His rulings, while not without substantial errors, were surprisingly fair, and he permitted me the greatest latitude in defending myself. While the sentence was harsh, it was well below what he could have imposed. I believe he was not actuated by any malice or ill-will but was under the pressure to which all federal judges are subjected in a case in which political motives are the whole cause of prosecution. It would be a bitter irony to reverse the conviction and then proceed to trial before a Wiig, a Harris, or a Mathes and end up with 18 years instead of 18 months imprisonment.

WHEN one is under indictment or sentence, he is like a man with cancer—all his activities are paralyzed by that circumstance. Better get it out and over with and go on from there. Going to jail is like dying—you do it once and you never worry about it so much again.

I am exceedingly practical. I do not propose to waste time explaining away the "disgrace" of such a conviction. The effort would be lost on those so innocent they cannot understand that political repression takes any avenue open to it: with a militant labor leader it is a Smith Act or Taft-Hartley prosecution, a fighting journalist encounters a deportation proceeding and a rich professional man an income-tax action. The end sought in each instance is the same: the suppression of criticism, the silencing of those who champion the cause of the Common Man.

Therefore, I intend to get this over with and out of the way. I seek neither sympathy nor help. We progressives are like an army advancing under fire. A wounded man falls out; the others cannot abandon the objective by turning back to bind up his wounds or carry him to safety. I can creep away a space and fix up my own hurts. You'll scarcely notice my absence when I'll be back up in the van. Don't worry that this may dampen my resolution an iota. I'm like that Shamus O'Brien, an Irish rebel, whose exploits I used to recite as a child. When he was finally captured he swore that, even when he should be lying in his grave,

His enemies never would have it to boast
His scorn for their vengeance one moment was lost;
His bosom might bleed but his cheek would be dry,
For undaunted he'd lived, and undaunted he'd die.

MY FRIENDS are horrified that this conviction means I shall be disbarred and disfranchised. I am reminded of Cunegonde's information to Candide that though she had been both raped and disemboweled, "neither of those things are necessarily fatal."

New champions are arising every day. I see it right in my own family where the little Hallinans are like the armed men springing from Cadmus sowing his dragon teeth. Soon the American people will wake up and discover what is happening to them. Their anger will not be pleasant for those now deceiving and defrauding them.

We progressives must continue to be the tocsin-bells which will finally arouse them. That one of us may be temporarily silenced does not mean that there shall be any the less of us, or that I shall not emerge louder and tougher than ever.

UNITED NATIONS

The record of the General Assembly

By Kumar Goshal

THE UN General Assembly recessed December 9, after resolving that Assembly president Mrs. Pandit of India should reconvene the session with majority concurrence whenever she felt Korean developments warranted it, or when one or more members make the request. In her closing address Mrs. Pandit described the Assembly's eighth session as "not spectacular perhaps, but adequate."

During the session, the U.S. position on a number of issues antagonized many colonial peoples, worried and puzzled many allies, made the U.S. lose some previously dependable votes.

ISRAEL CENSURE: Under heavy British-French-U.S. pressure the Security Council strongly censured Israel for the attack on the Jordanian village of Kibya; 66 deaths were reported. The U.S.S.R. abstained in the voting, as did Lebanon, which found the censure not strong enough.

Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban in vain pointed out that border incidents between Israel and the Arab countries have been increasing in intensity; that between June, 1952, and June, 1953, the Jordan-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission had dealt with 184 border incidents, ruling 159 times against Jordan and 25 times against Israel; that 400 Israelis have been killed in border raids in four years (130 of them in the past year) with damage in the millions; that the admittedly deplorable attack on Kibya had been in retaliation for a Jordanian attack on an Israeli village.

THE REASONS: Progressive Israeli sources were convinced that oil, bases and anti-Soviet military strategy lay behind the censure. Britain, accepting evacuation of Suez as inevitable, they said, hopes to make the Negev region of Israel (67% of Israel's territory) its main Middle East base. Control of Negev would give Britain access to the region's natural resources, probably including oil; link Egyptian Gaza on the Mediterranean (which Britain hopes to get in exchange for Suez) and the British base at Aqaba in Jordan; keep Israel weak by preventing population expansion through development of Negev.

PRESIDENT PANDIT
The brighter side

France supported the censure presumably to offset the bad feeling among the Arabs caused by French policy in Morocco and Tunisia. U.S. support seemed designed to curry Arab favor for a Middle East military pact.

MOROCCO AND TUNISIA: The watered-down Asian-Arab resolution asking France to continue negotiations with the Moroccans—approved by the Political Committee—failed to win the necessary two-thirds Assembly vote. Morocco's Istiqlal (Independence) party spokesmen claimed a moral victory in the "yes" vote of "representatives of two-thirds of the world's population," said Moroccans "have lost faith in the U.S.," predicted bad news from the colony. A resolution on Tunisian self-rule met the same fate.

ATROCITIES IN KOREA: The U.S. forced a vote on its atrocity charges against N. Korean-Chinese forces in Korea, spreading anxiety among its allies lest the discussion bring counter-charges and affect peace talks.

The vote was 42-5 for a resolution expressing "grave concern" at "reports and information" of "inhuman practices" against UN prisoners and civilians. India did not vote. There were 10 abstentions.

GENOCIDE DOUBLE-TALK: The U.S.' allies were baffled by its behavior on the issue of genocide, of which the U.S. itself was an original sponsor. An overwhelming Assembly majority voted for speedy ratification of the genocide convention (already ratified by 43 nations, and now theoretically international law) and the "widest possible diffusion of [its] nature, contents and purposes." Before the echo of the voting had died, the U.S.—which had voted with the majority—circulated a statement by chief delegate Lodge that the U.S. vote showed abhorrence for genocide but was

> ". . . not a commitment as to the timing of action by the U.S. on the genocide convention . . . [nor] a judgment against possible reservations . . . [nor should it be interpreted] as authorizing propaganda in the U.S. [about the convention]."

Some delegates wondered if U.S. treatment of its minorities had something to do with the "reservations"; others questioned how the U.S. planned —if it did—to prevent propaganda about genocide and its abolition.

PUERTO RICO—NO REPORTS: In the Trusteeship Committee the U.S. won by only four votes endorsement of its contention that it need not submit reports on Puerto Rico, since the colony had become "self-governing." The U.S. itself abstained because of an amendment (submitted by Burma, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia and Mexico) affirming UN competence "to decide whether a non-self-governing territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government."

In a strange-bedfellow line-up, Ethiopia, Iran and Israel joined in the 22 "yes" votes with most of the U.S. reliables, mainly Latin American. (Ecuador's delegate set a record with a 167-minute speech supporting the U.S.) Burma, Canada, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iraq and Mexico joined the socialist group in the 18 "no" votes. With the rest of W. Europe abstaining, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand and S. Africa—countries still required to report to UN on territories they administer—also voted "no."

It was doubtful if the resolution would get the necessary two-thirds vote for Assembly ratification. The U.S. declared that, whatever the outcome in the Assembly, it would no longer submit reports on Puerto Rico—just as S. Africa refuses reports on S.-W. Africa.

On other issues the UN

- Heard a report by Secy.-Gen. Hammarskjold recommending payment of indemnities to dismissed UN personnel, but asking for greater dismissal power by the Secy.-Gen. to prevent or limit such indemnities in future; (the UN political witch-hunt was already reported extending from Americans to citizens of five other countries employed by UN). The Assembly voted to get an opinion from the Intl. Court of Justice, The Hague, as to whether the UN Tribunal had power to fix indemnities to be paid dismissed employes.

- Rejected (39-5, 15 abstentions) a Soviet proposal calling on all nations that have not done so (which include the U.S.) to ratify the Geneva Convention outlawing chemical and germ warfare.

- Rejected what the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (12/6) called "Russian-styled measures" to avert war and reduce tensions. The measures included a ban on atomic weapons; one-third reduction of arms; abandonment of overseas military bases, and condemnation of "hate" propaganda.

- Treasurer Noel Monod of France announced that the UN has invested $70 million in the U.S.: $112 thousand each in E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., the General Electric Co. and the Kennecott Copper Corp. common stock; about $51 million in U.S. Government securities; about $15 million in 55 U.S. corporations' bonds; about $2 million in Canadian Government securities. In explaining UN investments, Monod said: "It is immaterial whether a company makes armaments or soda pop."

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War & Peace

(Continued from page 1)

ratify the European Army or face U.S. adoption of the "peripheral strategy": atomic war from bases in Britain, along the Mediterranean, across Asia and along the Pacific, with West German troops as the core of NATO land forces. Actually, as **Tribune des Nations** military expert "Col. X" pointed out (10/30), this has been U.S. strategy all along, American troops having been sent to W. Europe only to persuade the public that NATO "was defensive and designed firstly to protect frontiers."

The Dulles threat coincided with Adm. Radford's statement that the "new look" of the armed forces will stress air-atomic strategy. Eisenhower's new proposal, for an international agency to develop peacetime uses of atomic energy, aimed to divert world public opinion as the failure of Washington's policy increasingly exposes its real character—as a threat of atomic war which even Washington now knows it can't win. The **Christian Science Monitor** (12/12) pointed out that the response to the proposal—revealing anew the strength of the world demand for peace—was favorable because it

". . . presupposes co-existence. . . . The mere willingness to conceive of

Drawing by Gabriel, London

POWER POLITICIAN

a partial diversion of atomic materials to non-war purposes indicates that the President recognizes a possibility that the world can escape the threat of atomic war. That recognition on the part of the head of the Government of the U.S. is what a large part of the world has been yearning for for some time."

THE REAL ATOM TEST: Did the proposal offered anything practical? Most comment thought not. But for all its psychological warfare aspects "to put Moscow on the spot," Eisenhower's speech was important for its high-level recognition of Soviet strength and for the anxiety shown over Soviet peacetime atomic development.

This anxiety has been increasingly apparent since the Soviet atomic tests last summer. While Washington has only recently turned partial attention to peacetime development, this seems to have been a major goal of Soviet effort since 1945. On his return from a visit to Soviet scientific centers recently, British physicist J. D. Bernal wrote (**Labour Monthly**, 12/5):

"It is certain that in the Soviet Union atomic energy is being used not only for power but for chemical transformations in a co-ordinated way unhampered by the restrictions imposed by power companies. It is this prospect that most frightens the makers of atomic weapons."

"We get him, see?"

British columnist and Labour MP Tom Driberg, visiting America last month, was invited by Sen. McCarthy to sit in on an "executive session" at which a Fort Monmouth employe was being questioned. In **Reynolds News** (11/8) Driberg describes how the witness, who had already "taken the Fifth" several times, hesitated and conferred with his lawyer when asked "almost casually" whether he was "engaged in espionage" at Monmouth. When McCarthy insisted on an answer, the witness "with a touch of defiance" said: "I never committed espionage at any time or any place." Driberg writes:

By saying this, he played right into their hands; and I understand the dilemma in which people called to such an investigation are placed; for when he tried to refuse to answer further questions, implicating other people, McCarthy ruled that, by answering this one question, he had waived his right to claim the shelter of the Fifth Amendment.

He still refused to answer. A new, monotonous ritual of question-and-answer developed: the witness would refuse; McCarthy would say "The witness is ordered to answer"—and then, with hardly a pause for the further refusal, "I assume you refuse to answer?"; and the witness would nod his head.

I may have looked a bit dazed or shocked. McCarthy, helpfully eager that I should understand the procedure, turned to me with a wink and said, *sotto voce*, "We get him right away for contempt, see?"

So this man, probably innocent of any other offense whatever, will now be tried on the serious charge of contempt of Congress.

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Belfrage

(Continued from page 1)

were acting promptly, the court could not review?"

That was correct, Raby said. The District Court, he said, was therefore wrong in reviewing the denial, had compounded the error by concluding that Belfrage has established he was being held without sufficient reason. He declared that Belfrage

". . . emerged from the hearings of Committees of the House and Senate as a self-confessed betrayer of the country of his adoption. . . ."

PROOF IS OLD-FASHIONED: At this point Judge Clark leaned far forward:

"You mean that if a man invokes the Constitution he makes himself disloyal?"

That was the government's position, said Raby. Clark continued:

"It's getting so you don't need any proof, just claims, which take the place of proof. . . . Although [a witness] cannot be criminally prosecuted, everything else can be done to him."

Raby was less confident. At least, he said, a jury might well be able to draw inferences from a man's taking the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. Besides, he said, he just could not understand why Belfrage, who had told the court he is not a Communist, was unwilling to tell Sen. McCarthy. Judge Frank spoke up:

"Is it your position that if a man takes the stand in a criminal case and takes the Fifth Amendment, the prosecutor can comment on that to the jury?"

Yes, said Raby.

No indeed, said Judge Clark: such inferences have no place in court.

FOR THE RECORD: Raby declared that Judge Weinfeld should have given the government a chance for oral argument before making his decision. He said the government had not moved for a deportation hearing

". . . for the purpose of protecting the record. If we held a hearing then the issue here would become moot."

In her argument Mrs. Freedman pointed out that Judge Weinfeld, before his decision, had twice asked the government to supply him with facts to support the allegations, that there had been nothing forthcoming. She hammered at the point that the government had offered not one fact to support its charges, noted that Belfrage had not taken the Fifth Amendment in the deportation case, although the government had so implied. She insisted that it was not the intent of Congress to limit the courts' right to pass on the Attorney General's refusal of bail in deportation cases, noted that the Court of Appeals had already exercised this power in a previous case.

WHAT CAN YOU DO? Judge Frank had one more comment:

"Judge Weinfeld's order was in June. If Belfrage is dangerous, it is extraordinary that he should be allowed to be at large."

Well, said Raby, it was summer, and then Judge Clark refused to reverse the order. . . . Judge Frank interrupted:

"That didn't prevent you from proceeding. As a lawyer I can understand your wanting a test of the question; but when the issue is whether a man is dangerous, then one would expect a move forward."

Raby shrugged, held out his hands helplessly and said:

"We have to do what we can with what we've got."

No time was set for the court's decision.

Campaign to free Mrs. Ingram and her sons

HOLIDAY-SEASON prayers for release of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her sons Wallace and Sammie from a Georgia prison were to begin at 10 a.m., Dec. 18, with a meeting in front of the state capitol, Atlanta. A call issued by the Women's Committee for Equal Justice (Mrs. Mary Church Terrill, chairman, 6 E. 17th St., N.Y.C. 3) urged churches, synagogues, unions, clubs and individuals to send wires, letters and resolutions to Gov. Talmadge, Atlanta, "to free Mrs. Ingram and her sons." The Atlanta delegation was to carry a petition from the prayer meeting directly to Gov. Talmadge and afterward hold a conference.

Mrs .Ingram, mother of 14, was arrested with Wallace, 15, and Sammie, 13, on Nov. 4, 1947, three months after her husband's death, for killing a white farmer. Her account declared:

"He told me that I would not live hard any more if I did like he said, but I did not do what he wanted me to do. . . . He would not let me go. He threw his gun on me. He hit me with his gun. . . . If it hadn't been for my son Mr. Stratford would have killed me. He would not turn me loose until my son hit him again. Mr. Stratford died from the gun he hit me with. It was his own gun."

An all-white jury sentenced Mrs. Ingram to death, but protests forced commutation to life imprisonment. A "Call to the Women of the U.S." by the committee says: "Negro women well know that their freedom is bound to the freedom of Rosa Lee Ingram. It is high time white women recognized that this holds as true for them." The Political Prisoners' Relief Committee, 6 E. 17th St., N.Y.C. 3, was offering to handle Christmas presents to the Ingrams.

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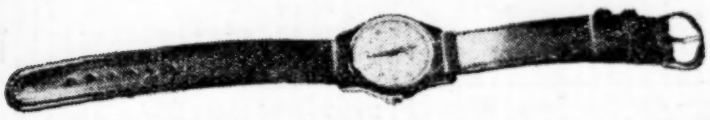

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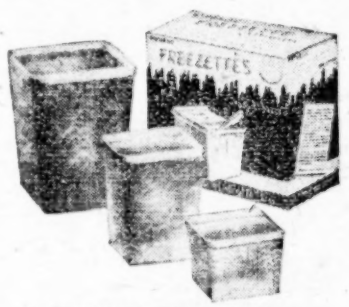

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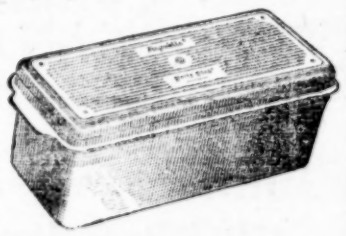

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2	.20	.27	.29	.31	.36	.40	.46	.51
3	.21	.31	.34	.38	.45	.52	.61	.69
4	.23	.35	.39	.45	.54	.64	.76	.87
5	.24	.39	.44	.52	.63	.76	.91	1.05
6	.26	.43	.49	.59	.73	.88	1.06	1.23
7	.27	.47	.54	.66	.82	1.00	1.22	1.41
8	.29	.51	.60	.73	.91	1.12	1.37	1.59
9	.30	.55	.65	.80	1.00	1.24	1.52	1.77
10	.32	.59	.70	.87	1.10	1.36	1.67	1.95
11	.33	.63	.75	.93	1.19	1.48	1.82	2.13
12	.34	.67	.80	1.00	1.28	1.60	1.98	2.31
13	.36	.71	.85	1.07	1.37	1.72	2.13	2.49
14	.37	.75	.90	1.14	1.47	1.84	2.28	2.67
15	.39	.79	.96	1.21	1.56	1.96	2.43	2.85
16	.40	.83	1.01	1.28	1.65	2.08	2.58	3.03
17	.42	.87	1.06	1.35	1.74	2.20	2.74	3.21
18	.43	.91	1.11	1.42	1.84	2.32	2.89	3.39
19	.45	.95	1.16	1.49	1.93	2.44	3.04	3.57
20	.46	.99	1.21	1.56	2.02	2.56	3.19	3.75